Eat the State!

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Quote of the week

Gross National Product measures neither the health of our children, the quality of their education, nor the joy of their play. It measures neither the beauty of our poetry, nor the strength of our marriages. It is indifferent to the decency of our factories and the safety of our streets alike. It measures neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our wit nor our courage, neither our compassion nor our devotion to country. It measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worth living, and it can tell us everything about our country except those things that make us proud to be part of it.

-ROBERT F. KENNEDY

COP SWAP

Here's the good, the bad, and the ugly regarding Seattle police chief Gil Kerlikowske's nomination to become the Obama administration's new "Drug Czar." First, the good: Kerlikowske is about

First, the good: Kerlikowske is about as good a pick as can be imagined for a federal job whose very conception—promotion of the deeply flawed "War on Drugs"—is problematic. Unlike his SPD predecessor, Norm Stamper, who has since gone on to become one of the country's leading law enforcement critics of the War on Drugs, Kerlikowske is no abolitionist. But in his decade on the job in Seattle he has overseen some remarkably progressive drug policies.

Kerlikowske has championed "drug court" and other reforms that have di verted nonviolent drug offenders out of the justice system and, when appropriate, into treatment. That approach recognizes drug abuse as a public health problem not a law enforcement one, and has not only helped improve thousands of lives. but saved them from being wrecked by our pointlessly punitive drug laws. Unlike City Attorney Tom Carr, Kerlikowske did not campaign against 1-75, the votersponsored initiative that made marijuana possession SPD's lowest enforcement priority; and, when I-75 overwhelmingly passed, he honored it. And Hempfest, the nation's largest annual pro-pot festival, has evolved in the last decade from being at perpetual war with SPD to having cops and toking festival-goers freely mingle.

It's hard to imagine a more tolerant attitude filling the federal office that, under both Dubya and his predecessors, routinely pumped out ludicrously hysterical anti-drug propaganda and persecuted states that tried to question the War on Drugs' rationale or tactics. The irony, of course, is that those federal efforts only undermined any chance of dealing constructively with the very real societal problems that drug abuse poses. Rather than scaring kids straight, it encouraged them to blow off the dangers-of both the drugs and, far more often, the drug laws that have filled the country's jails with nonviolent offenders.

A fresh approach couldn't come sooner—and with Kerlikowske, Obama has picked someone with both local federal law enforcement background, and someone who's no wild-eyed radical—someone, in other words, with both the credentials and the chops to make a shift in priorities happen. He is a fine choice.

That's the good. However, Kerlikowske's overall record running SPD is more mixed; and, in gushing over his pick and his tenure, local pols and media have been happy to overlook the bad. Most notably, Kerlikowske was ferociously resistant to meaningful civilian oversight of SPD, and was involved in a number of incidents where his discipline of misbehaving officers amounted to little more than a slap on the wrist. Between that tendency and a number of shootings of unarmed civilians (often non-white), especially earlier in his



3-26-04

reign, Kerlikowske's SPD has not had a good or trusting relationship with many in Seattle's minority communities. In recent years the force has also been shortstaffed at times, leaving SPD to defund community policing and to simply push drug and prostitution problems from neighborhood to neighborhood rather than having any real impact.

But that is little compared to the truly ugly: After eight years on the job, mayor Greg Nickels will now get to pick his own police chief.

What do we know about Nickels' priorities? As I mentioned last issue, it can pretty much be summed up in the phrase "class war": gentrification good, poor and downtrodden bad. Given that much of what a modern urban police force does is dealing with the folks who've fallen through our society's frayed safety net, therein lies a lot of potential for a problematic pick. Nickels' wars on the homeless, on nightclubs that cater to the "wrong" people, and on local neighborhood concerns will be that much worse if he picks a new chief that will be an enthusiastic enforcer of his priorities. For the last 15 or more years-even through the "civility law" era of former city attorney Mark Sidran-SPD has always been run by a chief that mostly steered clear of political posturing. That could change. Tellingly, Nickels' current budget included massi cuts for Kerlikowske's highly successful drug diversion programs. It would be naive not to expect a mayor who politicizes everything (much like our recently departed President) not to demand that a new pick for chief hew to his class-war priorities.

Moreover, Nickels' pick will need to be confirmed by city council. Unlike, say, two years ago, when Nick Licata headed the public safety committee, the lead councilman for law enforcement now is ex-cop Tim Burgess, in his 15 months on council, Burgess has dismayed local police accountability activists, who had welcomed his relatively thoughtful campaign rhetoric, by displaying a strong law-and-order streak once in office. Our

conflict-averse council is likely to defer to his sensibilities on Nickels' pick. And Burgess, arguably the council's most conservative member, pulled his name out of this year's mayoral race only a week after forming an exploratory committee strongly suggesting a back room deal with Nickels that might well include both SPD issues and future mayoral aspirations.

In other words, don't expect any meaningful opposition from city council if Nickels' choice veers sharply from SPD's recent history in its top position. GII Kerlikowske's nomination as Drug Czar is great news for our country's drug policies. What it means going forward for Seattle is a very different matter.

—Goay Partis.

Eat the State! PO Box 85541 Seattle, WA 981

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The Mercer Mess-Statement

What did Seattle mayor Greg Nickels know, and when did he know it?

That should have been the question major local media outlets were asking after last week's not-so-abrupt decision by Olympia not to include \$50 million in federal stimulus funding for Nickels' pet project fixing the so-called "Mercer Mess. Instead, probably because the project actually will make traffic congestion worse rather than better and amounts to little more than another Paul Allen vanity project—which our local editorial poobahs are always on board for-less coverage treated the Mess (political version) as a "He Said, She Said" fiasco that made things sound a lot more confusing than they actually were

Oh, and that coverage also conveniently obscured the fact that Nickels just ripped off Seattle taxpayers for \$150 million.

Here's the deal: the decision not to fund Mercer was made, in the end, by House Transportation Chair Judy Clib-born (D-Mercer Island). The funds weren't included for the eminently sensible reason that the monles were slotted to go to state highway improvements—and Mercer and Valley Streets, unlike, say, Aurora Ave., Ralnier Ave., or Lake City Way, are not state highway.

Clibborn says she told Nickels and Seattle councilwoman and transportation chair Jan Drago (D-Downtown Seattle Lobbyists) of the decision in ment-rectain, and Dago time, state the information with her fellow council members (Drago: "Until they publish the project list, anything could change."). And Nickels assured the council—as Drago watched—that he knew the federal money was coming, a day before the news of what was, and wasn't, on the project list became public. Based on Nickels' assurances (with Drago's silence) that the \$50 million hole in the project's financing would thus fer sure fer certain be filled the next day, the council then voted 6-3 to go ahead and release its hold on the other \$150 million in project.

Mind you, this is a bad project anyway, it basically takes the current congestion on Mercer and Valley Streets and dumps it all on one two-way street, while turning the other into a lovely, amenity-filled quasi-residential street for the city's dreamed-for new South Lake Union developments. Many of which, surprise, are owned by Allen's Vulcan Ventures, which has its hand up Nickels' back and makes his lips move pretty much whenever he says anything related to South Lake Union.

Spending \$200 million on such a fiasco is a bad idea in the best of times; doubly so when the local economy (especially the real estate sector) is tanking. That means that at one fell swoop, there's far less demand for those fancy new SLU developments, and the social service

budgets that will inevitably be gutted as city revenues tank face far more demand for their services

Instead of spending the limited remaining money on, say, people who need it, Nickels wants—really badly—to spend it, like he's spent so much already, on South Lake Union development. First, he tried to shoehorn Mercer improvements into an Alaskan Way Viaduct replacement scheme. Then came the federal ctimulus monies. And when that fell through Nickels did what any corrupt machine boss who cares more about his benefactors than all his other constituentscombined-would do. He lied to the city council, by telling them the federal money was coming when he knew that getting the money was the prerequisite for the council releasing the other \$150 million. Now, there's \$150 million legally committed to a vanity project, the feds and state won't help with any extra, and Seattle taxpayers have been hosed.

And when Nickels' lie was exposed a day later-when the final project list was published and Clibborn disclosed her earlier conversation with Nickels and Drago-Nickels was, of course, ready, claiming that he was assured by Gov. Christine Gregoire that the money for Mercer was included on the federal project list. To the Great Unwashed, that sounds reasonable; after all, a governor outranks a legislator, right? Um, no, not in this case. Basic civics: governors propose budgets. Legislators approve them and turn them into law. It wasn't Gregoire's decision to make, and Nickels, being no political neophyte, knew this perfectly well: his post-decision posturing was yet another instance of brazen horse manure.

Which raises the question: How much more of this will Seattle be subjected to? Private polling shows Nickels vulnerable this year to a well-funded election challenge, but in a down economy finding the money to be competitive with Nickels' already-banked special interest warchest will be formidably difficult. Thus far, no body with a credible chance has stepped forward, and the hour is getting late for such an effort. As with his "race" for a second term in 2005, it's looking once again like Nickels will get to run the city as his private fiefdom for another four years, public be damned, without any serious electoral opposition

Boss Tweed would be very, very proud

Geov Parrish

WEB SIGHT OF THE WEEK:

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THIS MODERN WORLD











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Reclaim OUR HISTORY

Mar. 5, 1917: Wobblies (Industrial Work ers of the World, aka IWW) go on trial, rett, Washington

Mar. 6, 1913: Joe Hill's song "There is Power in a Union" first appears in the IWW's Little Red Song Book." 1933: Pres. Roosevelt closes all US banks Alas, they reopened.

Mar. 7, 1942: IWW founder, anarchist labor organizer Lucy Parsons dies, Chicago, Illinois

Mar. 8, 1908: Thousands of workers in the NY needle trades (primarily women) nonstrate and begin a strike for higher wages, shorter workday and ar end to child labor. Becomes the basis for International Women's Day. 1993: Women's Strike Day in cities across Germany protests anti-abortion court

Mar. 9, 1919: Nora Douglas Holt and other black Chicago musicians form the Chicago Musicians Association

Mar. 10, 1987: United Nations Human Rights Commission recognizes consci-entious objection to military service as

Mar. 11, 1950: American Airlines main tenance workers win nationwide strike. gaining first severance pay clause in industry and limits on subcontracting.

Mar. 12, 1912: IWW wins Lawrence "Bread and Roses" textile strike 1986: Susan Butcher becomes the first woman to win 1,158-mile Iditarod Trail Sled Dog Race. She would become a perennial winner. 2003: International war crimes court convenes for the first time, without the participation of the United States

Mar. 13, 1925: Tennessee legislature bans teaching of evolution. 1968: Clouds of nerve gas drift outside the Army's Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah, poisoning 6,400 sheep in nearby Skull Valley

Mar. 14, 1912: IWW agrees to terms granting over 20% wage increases, suc cessfully ending 32,000-person "Bread and Roses" strike against wool mills precipitated by wage cuts. Lawrence, Massachusetts

Mar. 15, 1877: Birth of Ben Fletcher. Black IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) organizer of longshore locals in Phlladelphia. 1887: Painter's International Union formed

Mar. 16, 1831: Textile workers in Lawrence, Mass. strike. 1950: Death of Gregori Maximoff, exiled Russian anarcho-syndicalist. Participated in the 1917 revolution; after his expulsion following his participation In 1921's Kronstadt revolt, he settled in Berlin and eventually Chlcago, becoming active in the IWW and remaining an activist, and editor of several publications, until his death

Mar. 17, 1974: Three thousand Ethio pian women workers march for equal pay and better labor conditions

Mar. 18, 1937: Women clerks are evicted by police after occupying Wool-worth's department store to demand -hour work week, New York NY. 1970: US postal workers begin wildcat strike. The first strike against the US govern ment and the first mass work stoppage in the 195-year history of the Post Office Department began with a walkout of letter carriers in Brooklyn and Manhattan, soon involving 210,000 of the nation's 750,000 postal employees With mail service virtually paralyzed in New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia, Pres. Nixon declared a state of national emergency and assigned military units to New York City post offices. The stand off ends one week later

Obama's Stimulus Plan Is Only Half a Loaf

house calls. Or where childcare is affordable, professional and widely available. Or where all new parents are paid to stay home and care for their newborns, and receive a monthly stipend to pay for diapers, food and other daily needs.

Or imagine a place where a young person doesn't have to mortgage her or his future by going in debt to pay for a college education. Or where everyone has quality, affordable health care, and all workers receive two months worth of paid vacation and holidays every year, and naid sick leave too, as well as a gen erous retirement.

To most Americans, such a place sounds like Never-Never-Land. But to Europeans, Canadians and the Japanese this sounds like standard operating procedure. It is important for Americans to keep this in mind as we listen to President Barack Obama announce the goals of his new administration

For example, in announcing his economic stimulus plan, President Obama unveiled some badly needed measures, including rebuilding of roads, bridges, and schools, and increased renewable energy production. But his American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan misses an opportunity to more directly invest in the greatest "infrastructure" of all-the American people.

Public investment in physical infrastructure as a way of creating jobs and boosting consumer spending is a sensible strategy. However it leaves American workers stranded by the same "ownership society" ideology that has been part of the problem. The fact is, the next economic recovery will be followed at some point by the next downturn. Without a different type of intervention, Americans will remain lacking in the type of institutional support and "social infrastructure" that is crucial for providing economic security in this uncertain age of global capitalism.

A more comprehensive solution has been crafted in Europe, Japan and Canada. What they do is they redirect a small amount of each employee's and business' income into a pool of funding to pay for universal social infrastructure like affordable childcare, paid parental leave, paid sick leave, free or nearly free higher education, affordable health care, job training programs, adequate vacation, sufficient retirement pensions

and more. Providing this to all residents lays a much stronger foundation for the middle classes in these countries than anything comparable in the United

For example, the US is one of only five countries that do not guarantee some form of paid maternity leave (the others being a few impoverished African nations and Papua New Guinea). Fathers are granted paid leave in 65 countries, but the US guarantees fathers—as well as mothers-nothing. A majority of Americans are not even eligible for unpaid

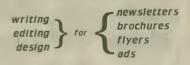
The US also is one of only a handful of nations that have no national law guaranteeing paid sick leave, leaving some 46 million workers-43 percent of the private industry labor force-without paid sick days At least 145 nations provide paid sick days, since if you're sick they want you to stay home and take care of yourself. In the US, we want you to show up to work and infect your coworkers

American detractors have decried this European, Canadian, and Japanese way as "welfare" state and "creeping socialism," but nothing could be further from the truth. A better name for this system is a "workfare" state, since all of these supports are part of a comprehensive system of institutions geared toward keeping individuals and families healthy, productive,





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HAT'S WHAT YOU GET FOR NOT GET-

and working. They have put some meat on the bones of their "family values."

But in America's "ownership society." you are truly left "on your own." In theory, this should lead to Americans paying less in taxes and having greater discretionary income, but this has been mostly an illusion. In return for their taxes, people in these other countries are receiving a whole host of benefits and services for which Americans end up paying extra for, out-of-pocket, via fees, premiums, deductibles and tuition, in addition to their taxes. When you sum up the total balance sheet, you discover that many Americans are paying out just as much as these other nations-we just receive a lot less for our money

Properly understood, these work

fare supports are a necessary part of infrastructure investment, just like the maintenance of physical infrastructure such as bridges and roads or spending on energy efficiency. This social infrastructure investment also creates jobs and stimulates consumer spending, even as it invests in the most precious resource of all-people

By basing his economic recovery plan on a narrow emphasis on physical infrastructure investment. Ohama fails to recognize how social infrastructure must be a crucial part of the mix. A failure to invest in social infrastructure during this critical time will leave the American middle class on the same shaky ground where it has always stood, fearing the next economic downturn.

-Steven Hill

Hypocritically Correct

egated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Hypocrisy and politicians! There is nothing new in this love-match made by Cupid's arrow of self-interest, right? Wrong. In the current flurry of state legislatures (including Washington state's) passing or considering resolutions asserting state sovereignty, many politicians are doing the right thing for the wrong reasons.

With close to 30 states having approved or currently considering resolutions of sovereignty, it is noteworthy how many Republicans are now standing up to be counted as defenders of the Constitution, especially after their silence during the Bush administration's eight-year assault on the Bill of Rights. And what of the Democrats who were formerly vehement critics of Bush's actions? They have suddenly gone silent as the Obama administration continues many of Bush's policies they once opposed. Hypocrisy and partisan politics, of course, but above this is a more fundamental issue involving the Tenth Amendment to the US Constitution.

After the Constitution was ratified by state conventions, the constitutional debate continued with the submission of a Bill of Rights. Alexander Hamilton argued against such a bill, asserting that the people had not surrendered their rights in ratifying the Constitution, so such protections were unnecessary. "Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing, and as they retain everything, they have no need of particular reserva tions." Furthermore, Hamilton feared that protecting specific rights might imply that any unmentioned rights would not be protected.

Opposed to Hamilton's argument, Thomas Jefferson, at the time serving as ambassador to France, supported such a bill. He wrote to James Madison, the author of the Constitution: "Half a loaf is better than no bread. If we cannot secure all our rights, let us secure what we can."

Madison was, like Hamilton, concerned that enumerating such rights could "enlarge the powers delegated by the Constitution." Consequently, he submitted the following draft of the Ninth Amendment to the Congress: "The exceptions here or elsewhere in the Constitution, made in favor of particular rights, shall not be so construed as to diminish the just importance of other rights retained by the people; or as to enlarge the powers delegated by the Constitution; but either as actual limitations of such powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution."

Madison further elaborated on these rights in his speech introducing the Bill of Rights: "It has been said, by way of objection to a Bill of Rights ... that in the Federal Government they are unneces sary, because the power enumerated, and FIGHTING WORDS Bobby's World

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government bureaucrat monster who

wants to steal our money and control

our minds with his secret Stimulus Ray!

JEEZ ...

by Abell Smith

Hi everybody, and Happy Mardi Gras! I'm Bobby, and welcome to my world! It's a magical land, where the people can do anything if they just believe!



But we know here that our strength the government, but in our lies not in people! And that stuff like roads levees, and disaster preparedness are best left to ordinary folks like OUR good corporate citizens ...



Of course, we don't need the National Guard here, 'cuz our citizens are armed and always looking for people to help!



And if that doesn't work and disc does strike, we know that the first people out there to help will be the CEO's of those companies, Riding on



You see, in Bobby's World, the people can do anything if they just believe!



it follows, that all that are not granted by the Constitution are retained: that the Constitution is a bill of powers, the great residuum being the rights of the people; and, therefore, a Bill of Rights cannot be so necessary as if the residuum was thrown into the hands of the Government. I admit that these arguments are not entirely without foundation, but they are not as conclusive to the extent it has been proposed. It is true the powers of the general government are circumscribed; they are directed to particular objects; but even if government keeps within those limits, it has certain discretionary powers with respect to the means, which may admit of abuse."

Today, after the Bush administration's restrictions of constitutional rights through the Patriot Act, the John Warner Defense Act of 2007, the Military Commissions Act, and Presidential Decision Directive 51, with Republican and Democratic congressional acquiescence, the rights debate has devolved to the States. Consequently, the Tenth Amendment has moved to center stage.

Ratified on 15 December 1791, the Tenth Amendment reserves all powers not granted to the national government to the States or the people. Based on an earlier provision of the Articles of Confederation where "each state retains its sovereignty," it restates the Constitution's principle of federalism, and in supporting States Rights, it makes explicit the idea that the federal government is limited to those wers granted in the Constitution.

Previously, States Rights was used to justify two indelible moral stains on the

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-Noam Chomsky

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WHILE

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A HARD HAT.







national character: slavery and segrega tion. However, today the issues include 2nd Amendment gun rights, unfunded man dates, and demands from Washington DC on how to spend stimulus money, national identification cards, and a presidential declaration of martial law, among others.

While most of the Founding Fathers believed the Constitution did not grant the national government any power that it did not expressly mention, most American political leaders since the Civil War have opined that the Constitution grants the national government the authority to do more or less anything that is not expressly prohibited by the first eight amendments. And with the contemporary submission of Congress to the Executive, the debate is now between the States and the Executive

The present debate is constitution ally necessary and long overdue. As the debate unfolds, hopefully not into a fullblown constitutional crisis-the last one resulted in the Civil War-partisan politics and party lovalties will undoubtedly be the surface politics on the television screen and talk radio. Will the public realize that the Constitution is not what George W. Bush called "just a goddamned piece of paper"? Since the Republican and Democratic Congresses have been missing in action, it's time for the States to reclaim Jefferson's "half a loaf." -Rrad Rorner

PLEASE EAT RECYCLE THIS NEWSPAPER

Eat these Shorts!

Gil Kerlikowske (see article: this issue) was only one of three high-profile Seattle residents picked in late February for toplevel jobs in the Obama administration. The other two nominations—of former governor Gary Locke for Secretary of Commerce and King County Executive Ron Sims for Deputy Director of HUD-continue the trend, which we explored at length in our January series on the Ohama cabinet, of the new regime's picks being generally pretty good on social service positions, and generally awful on economic and national security/ foreign affairs jobs.

I've always liked Ron Sims better as a candidate than as an elected official. He positions himself as a liberal, even a progressive, when running for office (most notably in his courageous and badly needed call for retooling of our regressive state tax structure). In office, aside from the 2004 election fiasco, he's most notable for having gutted King County social services with a series of budget cutbacks while leaving the 70 percent of county money that goes to county law enforcement, the courts, and jails all but untouched.

That said, Sims is a more than capable administrator with a lot of experience running one of the country's more populous counties. As the man responsible for running the day-to-day operations of HUD (but not, thankfully, controlling its budget), he's a fairly reasonable pick The same cannot be said of Gary Locke as the new Secretary of Commerce.

Anyone not paying close attention during the presidential campaign can now be officially disabused of the notion that Barack Obama might challenge the Official Bipartisan Beltway Conventional Wisdom on matters of trade. NAFTA? Perfect as is. Bipartisan trade deals with cushy provisions for transnationals and nothing to protect workers or the environment? It's a way of life. Or at least, it is for Gary Locke, who touts his generosity to Boeing, Microsoft and the Pacific Rim as among his finest-okay, only-achievements in his eight interminable years as our state's governor. (It also surely helped Locke's job prospects that he, along with a couple billion other people, share some distant relations with the people who now own the United States Government lock, stock, and barrel, But I digress.)

Obama's pick of Gary Locke for Commerce Secretary completes for his top

economic posts a clean sweep of selecting people whose policies got us into our current economic catastrophe in the first place, and who show no sign of recognizing how culpable those policies were and are. Instead, as one bailout follows the next, Obama and his team keep rewarding the very guilty and encouraging them to keep it up. In that respect, the new administration and its economic leadership, including Locke, are more or less indistinguishable from the people they're replacing. -Geov Parrish

Nickelsville, the homeless encampment of 100 named after Mayor Greg Nickels, is moving this week, Bryn Mawr United Methodist Church, between Seattle and Renton in unincorporated King County, will host Nickelsville for 92 days beginning on March 5. Nickelodeons are resolved that this will be their last move before the permanent site where they'll build an eco-friendly community for up to 1,000 people in the City of Seattle, Bryn Mawr will be Nickelsville's sixth home since it set up without a permit on one of the city's proposed jail sites in September 2008, when 22 people were arrested. (Their trial starts June 16.)

In January the city issued its first temporary use permit for a homeless en campment to University Congregational United Church of Christ, the site of Nickelsville since December. Though it took the city six weeks, some of the permit conditions were downright ridiculous. and the permit expired five days before Nickelsville vacated the property, it's a start. Meanwhile Nickelodeons have begun visiting local Democratic Party events to get their support for Nickelsville. - Peggy Hotes

Backtalk

ETS! encourages comments, feedback, tips, corrections, and info! Please keep them as concise as possible so we can print as many different voices as possible. FTSI, P.O. Box 85541, Seattle, WA 98145. or email editorial@eatthestate.ora

The Honeymoon's Over

From the new biography of Andrew Jackson, I learn that while the democratizer helped keep the Union together 30 years before the Civil War, he owned (continued on next page, bottom)



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Is Nancy Pelosi Really Against War Crimes?

Is it even remotely possible that senior officials in the Bush administration—maybe even at least one of the top two—will be the target of public war crime hearings and even criminal prosecutions, here in the United States? From dismissal as unthinkable only a few months ago by leading Democrats in Washington, the glorious possibility can at least be glimpsed in the middle distance, like the mountain lion I saw here a decade ago in the twilight, loping off into the bush the support of the prosecution of the public bush the support of the suppo

For the perps, overseas is already dangerous terrain. George W. Bush's first defense secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, field Paris a couple of years ago to avoid having to honor a subpoena from French investigators, replicating a similarly hasty exit from the French jurisdiction by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger.

For almost the entire four years of Bush's second term, one of the main campaigns of the left was to pressure the Democratic leadership to support impeachment proceedings against the president and vice-president. My posture was always that impeachment was never on the cards and consumed far too much energy, not to mention expectation. The realistic line would have been to ensure that Bush, Cheney, Rice, Gonzales, Yoo and the others should spend the rest of their lives on the Most Wanted lists, afeared to answer a knock on the hotel rom door in any foreign capital, lest it presage a lawyer with a subpoena or a pair of handcuffs.

Following regime change in Washington in January, the official tone in Washington remained anchored in "bygones be bygones" mode. Senator Pat Leahy of Vermont has talked about a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which he claimed would instruct future transgressors that torture is just plain wrong and contrary to international laws and covenants.

Maybe Leahy's hogging of the torture-probe spotlight inked House Majority leader Nancy Pelosi. On Wednesday, February 25, Pelosi was interviewed for an hour by MSN-BC's Rachel Maddow, who asked the top House Democrat what her reaction would be to any charges leveled at the Republicans who've now retreated to private life and are writing their memoirs.

Maddow: "If the US Justice Department's inspector general report that comes out this summer suggests that there has been criminal activity at the official level on issues like torture, or wireless wiretapping, or rendition, or any of these other issues..."

Pelosi: "No one is above the law. I think I have said that "

In active English, Pelosi's pious phraseology about no one being "above the law" translates into something like: "These guys are out of power and their popularity ratings are in the toilet so now it's safe at least to talk about turn-

And since Pelosi controls the assignment of hearings

NATURE & POLITICS



to relevant committees in the House, this means that she could give the green light to House Justice Committee chairman John Conyers to organize hearings. Equipped with a capable director and subpoena power—that is, the ability to compet testimony and documents under the threat of criminal sanction—such hearings could form the first of what the left regards as necessary show trials, both of the criminals in Washington who trashed the Constitution and the criminals on Wall Street who looted the

Officials of an avowedly outlaw regime would be in the dock for flouting the US constitution and international law regarding treatment of "enemy combatants" and torture of captives either directly by US personnel or indirectly, by kidnapping those suspected of terrorism and handing them over to allies to be tormented in prisons in Egypt or Thailand or eastern Europe.

There is already a significant trail of evidence that links torture in the US prisons as Guantanamo and Abu Graib directly to former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, as first described nearly two years ago. According to a sworn statement by Air Force Lt. General Randall Schmidt, appointed in 2005 to investigate charges by FBI officials that there had been widespread abuse at Guantanamo, Rumsfeld gave verbal and subsequently written approval to torture suspects, using the notorious techniques of isolation, sleep deprivation, and psychic degradation. When the micro-manafing defense secretary was apprised by Schmidt of his own documented instructions to the tortures in Guantanamo, Rumsfeld sald in apparent surprise: "Did [i] say "put a bra and panties on this guy's head and make him dance with another mana?"

In the case of Abu Ghraib, there is again a trail of evidence showing it was Rumsfeld who personally decreed and monitored stress positions, Individual phobias, such as fear of dogs, sleep deprivation, and waterboarding. One US amy officer, Janis Karplinski, has described finding in Abu Ghraib a piece of paper stuck on a pole outside a little office used by the interrogators. It was a memorandum signed by Rumsfeld, authorising techniques such

as use of dogs, stress positions, starvation. On the paper, in Rumsfeld's handwriting, was the terse instruction, "Make sure this happens!!"

In contrast to Pelosi's maybe temporarily toughening posture, over at the White House Obama has been sticking to the line that partisan witch hunts are part of the old politics of divisiveness and that it's time to move on. Obama's Justice Department lawyers have told US judges in explicit terms that the new administration will not be moving on from Bush's policies on the legal status of renditions and of supposed enemy combatants. Lawyers from Holder's DoJ have emphasized to judges that they, like DoJ lawyers instructed by Gonzales and Mukasey, contend that captives seized by the US government and conveyed to secret prisons to be tortured have no standing in US courts and the Obama regime has no legal obligations to defend or even admit its actions in any US courtroom. "Enemy combatants" will not be afforded international

legal protections, whether on the field of battle in Afghanistan or, if kidnapped by US personnel, anywhere in the world.

This explicit continuity with the lawless Bush years has deeply disappointed many of Obama's supporters, though the current levels of Obama-worship are reminiscent of similar levels of uncritical adulation back in the Camelot rear of John F. Kennedy. Perhaps the need to apply some salve to the disappointment impelled Pelosi to take the harder stand she adopted. It's hard to believe that the San Francisco millionalress actually wants to see pitiless investigation in a House committee of torture policies she effectively condored in the Bush years.

But here is a rich opportunity for the left. Obama's pleddes in the campaign to run a lawfull government were very explicit. Last week he declared to the joint session of Congress that "I can stand here tonight and say without exception or equivocation that the United States of America does not torture. We can make that commitment here tonight."

Of course this is an outrageous lie. In all likelihood a CIA officer or agent is torturing a captive in Afghanistan even as iwite these lines. More generally, the US does torture, the same way it always has, furnishing its kidnapped victims to subcontractors in secret prisons. As the doors of Guantanamo close, there are many unknown facilities around the world supervised by the CIA, running full blast, with zero accountability.

If Pelosi feels it politically meet to open the door a crack, we should welcome the opportunity. We're looking here at a campaign for retribution that will last well beyond an Obama presidency and which may indeed include Obama himself among its targets, if he pursues his present polities.

—Alexander Cockburn

BACKTALK (continued from previous page)
150 slaves because it was the thing for
the Southern rich and ruling class to
do. By the same token the thing to do
for the ruling class of the 20th and 21st
Centuries is to send American sodilers
overseas to invade and occupy Third
World countries. Except that American
overseas aggression isn't any more right
than it was for Jackson, Jefferson, and

ing the dogs on them."

Washington to own slaves.

The American ruler who propagates war to defend "America's interests," whether in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Colombia is dead wrong. Especially when those "interests" are global economic and military domination. Obama is blatantly wrong to send more troops to Afghanistan. This is an abhorrent and unwarranted aggression on a primitive nation that is no threat to anyone.

Though in charge for a month, Obama's had enough history and education to terminate American imperialism and intervention once and for all. America has no more business interfering in Afghanistan,

Pakistan, Iran, Cuba, Colombia, or Venezuela than it had in Vietnam or Iraq.

The pretense for sending more troops to Afghanistan is as false as it was for sending American soldier-killers and Cla-killers to Vletnam, Iraq, Colombia, and Central America. America has partaken in enough imperialism for one century. The zeltgelst for taking on "the white man's burden" is over—or it should be.

Obama should purge America's rapacious banking and insurance industries, the Corporatoracy, the Military-Industrial Complex, the lobbyists, and all who drive America to economic and military expansion. Unfortunately, he's surrounded himself with Cold War era advisors and Cabinet members, like intelligence chief Dennis Blair, Defense Secretary Robert Gates, and other right-wingers. This does not augur well for the Third World nations America is wont to prey on.

America subverted and destroyed Iran's freely elected democratic government in 1953 and installed Dictator Shah Pahlevi. America continues to support dictatorships, like Egypt's, around the globe. And once they free themselves (Cuba, Iran, et al.) America demonizes them. Why don't the billions of dollars sent to the militaries in Israel, Egypt, and Colombia and to the puppers in Iraq and Afghanistan go to those living below the poverty line in the United States; to Social Security; Medicare; Medicadi; the Pension Guarantee Trust Fund; and to build low-income housing?

Cuba didn't invade America in 1961, but the other way around. America wanted to regain control of the nation it had run by proxy since the Spanish-American War. Vietnam and Iraq didn't invade America but the other way around. Those nations lost millions of their citizens to bombs, murder and plunder at the hands of America, its "allies," mercenaries, and collaborators. Add 20 other countries from the Phillipines to Indonesia, to Cuba, iraq and Alghanistan, and that's why "they hate us."

9/11 is nothing compared to a century of American economic and military violence and occupation of Third World nations. Martin Luther King and the Reverend Wright had it right when they said that the US is the greatest purveyor of global violence, and that with 9/11, the chickens came home to roost. It was true in 1968 and it was true in 2008. Unfortunately, too many Americans don't want to know about American depradations around the world. They'd rather entertain themselves with television.

infotainment, Hollywood, and sports.
Anyone and anything is better than
the tyramy of the past eight years. But,
why was it-allowed to go on for so long?!
Slavery 'ended' in 1865. Why did it take a
hundred years and the civil rights movement for discrimination against blacks to
lessen? Why to this day does discrimination continue against gays, Hispanics,
blacks, and other minorities?

The ideal mantra of President Obama should be: "In addition to Guantanamo, I'm closing military bases around the world. Guantanamo will be returned to Cuba with whom we will commence

THIS MODERN WORLD







by TOM TOMORROW







diplomatic relations. The CIA budget will be reduced, and the CIA will now engage solely in intelligence-gathering. Not only does the US no longer torture but it no longer invades and occupies Third World nations. All the money saved from the secret, domestic security, and surveil-lance entities will be used for defense. The Pentagon budget will henceforth be reduced in favor of America's poor and underserved. My administration will see an end to any and all overseas American aggression while I am president."

It's time for a truly progressive outlook on nations and people that differs from the White House [that] American special interests, lobbyists, bigots, and tyrants prefer and desire.

Bob Miller, Seattle

Seattle's Slippery Slope

I recently picked up your Feb. 19, 2009 issue at the Kent Public Library and your story on the front page, "The Big Bore, interested me. In 1956 I arrived in Seattle to make corrections on an insurance map for an out-of-state insurance firm. I was fortunate to record the last section of the Alaska Way Viaduct as they were still working on it, so I did see what was actually under the viaduct as well as learning from those who were building it. What they told me shocked me.

Seattle has a soil that slides during earthquakes and the engineers who were working said the reason no tunnel on First Avenue would work was that everything from Fourth Avenue to the water's edge would slide into the bay in a big quake. They said it could be a million years away or could happen overnight. They showed me where two earthquake faults ran right down the middle of town...not one, but two, and they said it would be a death ditch if they went.

That was in 1956, so perhaps time has changed what they showed me, but I have never questioned their words.

S. Leon Thompson, WWII Veteran

Remember Katrina?

I read your article "2008 Media Fol-

lies" from Dec. 18, 2008, and although I'm sure the "futile sports year for the ages" was extremely important for some people out there, I was sad to see that the ongoing struggle of Katrina victims failed to make your list. Now I'm sure you had a lot to cover, but this is a topic you really should have added to your article. I mean the population has gone down because they were spread all over and were not able to go back home, or should I say what was left of their home. These survivors were put through so much losing their homes, loved ones, left with nothing to come back to, and the loss of things that meant so much to them; I believe that the least you could've done was to put it in your article to show that we have not forgotten that this was a tragedy and a big deal. And that there are still people that are still trying to help and make a difference.

For example, students in my class are taking a trip from March 15 to April 8 to take responsibility and work together with Katrina survivors to rebuild their communities and provide humanitarian assistance. If you'd like to help us in any way you can make a tax-deductible donation to NOVA PTSA/New Orleans c/o NOVA High School, 2410 Cherry St., Seattle WA 98122. Or for more information on how you can help New Orleans, call our school at 206-252-3509.

Hilda Campos, Seattle

G.P. replies: In fairness, the "sports year" item was in the list of the year's overhyped stories; in 2006 and 2007 the bungling and corruption of official Gulf Coast relief efforts made our "underreported" list for this annual year-end article. It didn't make the list in 2008 for the simple reason that at this point there's nothing new to say. The events you listed are all tragicbut they were all set in motion in 2005. And an annual list of "things we shouldn't forget" would be potentially endless-as is a list of overhyped and underreported stories. But it's a different list.

That said, a number of grassroot groups have done and continue to do amazing work in helping to rebuild New Orleans and help its beleaguered residents and ex-residents. Hats off to NOVA for organizing the trip; good luck on it!

EAT THE STATE! OF THE NEAR FUTURE Deadline: editorial submissions & ads Publication date

#13.14 #13.15 #13.16 Frl. Mar. 13 Frl. Mar. 27 Frl. Apr. 10 Thur. Mar. 19 Thur. Apr. 2 Thur, Apr. 16

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Community Alliance for Global Justice 206-405-4600; www.seattleglobaljustice.org Works locally for justice in the global economy, Works locally for justice in the global economy, fighting unjust "free trade" agreements and promoting fair trade alternatives, through education, organizing, media outreach, undoing institutionalized racism, and building solidarity with allied organizations.

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2021 NE 75th St., Seattle WA 98115 206-547-7735; www.etan-seattle.org ETAN works for East Timorese human rights and justice. Our goals are increasing public awareness of East Timore'se issues and working to positively influence US policy. Meeting Info: 547-7735

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Northwest Animal Rights Network

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ETS! Activist Calendar

THURSDAY, MARCH 5

7 PM. Eat the State! mailing party and business meeting! Come check out our fabulous (okay, utilitarian) new office, mail papers, gossin about the state of the world, and plot the future of your favorite local independent media project! At our new home: University Christian Church, 4759 15th Ave. NE #312 (er ter on the corner of 50th & 15th). Info: info@ eatthestate.org or 206-719-6947

7:30 PM. Town Hall presents Peter Singer 7:30 PM. IOWN Hall presents Peter Singer on "The Life You Can Save" at Town Hall, Downstairs, enter on Seneca Street at 8th Ave, Seattle. "What is an ordinary American's obligation to the world's poor?" Peter Singer, philosopher, Princeton University bioethics ofessor, argues that for the first time in history we're in a position to end extrempoverty throughout the world. Tickets are \$5 at www.brownpapertickets.com or 800-838-3006, and at the door beginning at 6:30 PM. Info: www.townhallseattle.org.

FRIDAY, MARCH 6

7:00-9:30 PM. "Unnatural Causes—Is Inequality Making Us Sick?" A film with guests from the UW Population Health Forum. Why is it that at every step down the socio-economic ladder, African Americans, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders often fare worse than their white counterparts? Free and open to the public but donations are kindly accepted Keystone Church, 5019 Keystone Pl., Seattle. Info at www.meaningfulmovies.org.

Veterans For Peace Northwest Regional Conference (through Sunday, March 8) at Northlake Unitarian Universalist Church, 308 Fourth Ave. S., Kirkland. Join this confe to learn, contribute, and help increase the motivation for veterans to courageously move away from war and find creative ways to build peace. Information at www.vfp92.org

SATURDAY, MARCH 7

9 AM-4:30 PM. Break the Silence conference: Shattering the Culture of Violence. Break the Silence is a student-led conference for members of the Puget Sound Region to explore and confront the culture of violence. This conference aims to provide attendees with the opportunity to develop strategies for addressing the pervasiveness of violence in our communities. Student Center 160 at Seattle University, 901 12th Ave., Seattle. For the registration fee, there is a sliding scale cost of \$5.20.

9:30 AM-6:30 PM. Alternatives To Violence Workshop. Tronsforming Conflict (through Sunday, March 8). Conflict is an unavoidal part of life. Learn to transform conflicts in the workplace, family, and relationships with peace and confidence. University of Wash. Experimental College. Register at: tinyurl. com/8klkt6. For details or questions, or group workshops contact Roger at 206-856-4444 or rkluck@comcast.net

7-9 PM. International Women's Day benefit for the people of Gaza. A panel of three Palestinian women speakers from three different eras of Palestinian history, and an Israeli speaker Opening and closing with Sistah Drum, at POCAAN, 1609 19th Ave., come at 6:30 for socializing. Suggested donation is \$5-25 to go Socializing. Suggested donation is \$9.50 to it to the people of Gaza. Co-sponsored by Dyke Community Activists and Sistah2Sistah. For more Information, google Dyke Community Activists or call 206-722-0729.

10 AM-Noon, Sustainable Agriculture and 10 AM-Noon. Sustainable Agriculture and Environmental Stewardship. The Sustainable Saturday Series at 21 Acres, 13701 NE 171st Street, near Woodinville presents an opportunity to the community to learn and participate in a variety of activities showcasing and demonstrating sustainable agriculture and environmental stewardship. Find out what's growing in your community, when you visit
21 Acres. Free and open to the public. Info at 206-442-2061 or www.21acres.org

1-3:30 PM Pinay sa hosts "The Global Eco 1-3:30 PM Plnay Sa nosts "The Global Eco-nomic Crisis: Impacts on Women from Seattle to the Philippines." At Hidmo Cuisine, 2000 S. Jackson St. For more information, contact pinavinfo@gmail.com.

TUESDAY, MARCH 10

7:30 PM. Town Hall presents Ian Bemmer-"The Fat Tall"—at Town Hall, Downstairs, en-ter on Seneca Street at 8th Ave, Seattle. In recent years, investors have learned that in the international economy, politics often matter at least as much as economic fundamentals. Ian Bemmer (with co-author Preston Keat) provides an analysis of risk management in the turbulent world of global economics. Tick ets are \$5 at www.brownpapertickets.com or 800-838-3006, and at the door at 6:30 pm. Info at www.townhallseattle.org.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11

7:30 PM. Center for Constitutional Rights Executive Director Vincent Warren, Town Hall Seneca Street at 8th Ave, Seattle. New York City-based CCR has been in the forefront of efforts to defend Americans' civil rights for decades; come hear a rare Seattle talk by its national leader! Tickets are \$5 at www.brown papertickets.com or 800-838-3006, and at the door beginning at 6:30 pm. Info at www

THURSDAY, MARCH 12

Equality Day 2009! In Olympia. Attend work shops, rally, and visit legislators. Organized by Equal Rights Washington (ERW) and its faith-based initiative, the Religious Coalitior for Equality. Co-sponsored by dozens of orga-nizations and houses of worship. Registra-tion for Equality Day is now open and early registration helps us secure meetings for you with your legislators.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13

Washington State's Refugee & Immigrant Conference: "Changing Times, Changing Strategies for Refugees and Immigrants." At the University of Washington's Husky Union Building (through Saturday, March 14). The conference will celebrate achievements and examine issues of concern to refugees and immigrants through: local and national speakers; workshops; local refugee entertainment; netvorking opportunities; community resource tables. Info, or to get involved in planning or in helping: Annette Holland at Annette.Holland@ kingcounty.gov or 206-205-9142

7:30 AM-8 PM. Law of the Commons Conference. Seattle University School of Law, 1191
E. Columbia, Sullivan Hall, Corner of 12th at E. Columbia. This is a seminar about the 21st Century Commons, the protection and the enclosure of those commons, and the interests of lawyers, artists, computer pro-grammers, environmentalists, civil libertarians, and those interested in digital media. Sponsored by the Seattle Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. For more information, schedule, etc: nlgseattle.org/lawofcommons/

SATURDAY, MARCH 14

1 PM, "The Road Ahead". The ACLU Of Washington Annual Membership Confere will look at the "The Road Ahead" for civil liberties at The Intiman, 2nd Avenue North at Mercer Street, Seattle. We encourage participants to RSVP in advance to reserve space. n is free, with suggested donations of \$10 (\$5 for students). Keynote speaker Jeff Robinson presents a firsthand account of the military commission proceedings at Guant-namo Bay and ideas for creating a just system that respects due process for detainees. Info and registration at www.aclu-wa.org or rsvp@aclu-wa.org or 206-624-2184.

7 PM. Fundralser for Ahli Hospital, Gaza At St. Mark's Cathedral, 1245 Tenth Ave. E. Seattle. For over 100 years the hospital has provided affordable services to poor people of all faiths and is desperately needed. The Rev. David Mesenbring, pastor for Church in the World Ministries, St. Mark's Cathedral, will be the moderator. Info at 206-323-0300

MONDAY, MARCH 16

10 AM-4 PM. ACLU of Washington Lobby Day. We will be discussing voting rights, marijuana reclassification, privacy and domestic part-nerships with our state legislators at Columbia Room, Legislative Building, Olympia. The day includes breakfast, lobby training, lunch, and meetings with your legislators. Info at 206-624-2184 or field@aclu-wa.org.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17

7:30 PM. Dispatches from the War Room. Town Hall presents Stanley Greenberg and

and consultant at Town Hall, downstairs. enter on Seneca Street at 8th Ave, Seattle Greenberg recounts his experiences working for five world leaders during their campaigns and governance. Presented by the Town Hall Center for Civic Life, with Elliott Bay Book

his insights of an insider political pollster

Company. Tickets are \$5 at www.brownpaper-tickets.com or 800-838-3006, and at the door beginning at 6:30 PM. Town Hall members receive priority seating. Info at www.townhallseattle.org.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18

5:30-7:30 PM. Two Spirit/Health Disparities Forum. Sponsored by the Seattle Commission for Sexual Minorities at the Bertha Landes Room, City Hall, downtown Seattle. Info at Marta Idowu 206-684-4540 or Marta.Idowu@

THURSDAY, MARCH 19

8 PM. Peace Concert and Evening of Peace-making. Wage Peace on the Anniversary of the Iraq War at Seattle First Baptist Church. Seattle First Baptist Church and Bellevue First Congre-gational Church (UCC) are sponsoring a Peace Concert and Evening of Peacemaking, Includes music performances, poetry, and a reading by Lt. Ehren Watada. Peace groups are invited to participate. No tickets; free-will offering is taken. Co-sponsored by the Seattle Council of Churches. Info at www.SeattleFirstBaptist.org/ Peace or Vicky Thomas 206-325-6051, ext. 27.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20

7-9:30 PM. "Flow: For the Love of Water" rena Salina's award-winning documentary envestigation into what experts label the most important political and environmental issue of the 21st Century: The World Water Crisis. Salina builds a case against the growing priva tization of the world's dwindling fresh water supply with an unflinching focus on politics, pollution, human rights, and the emergence of a domineering world water cartel. Free and open to the public but donations are kindly accepted. Keystone Church, 5019 Keystone Pl., Seattle. Info: www.meaningfulmovies.org.

SATURDAY, MARCH 21

2-4:30 PM. Seventh Annual Peace Fair. Consored by South King County Fellowship econciliation and others at Des Moines United Methodist Church, 2225 9th Ave S, Des Moines. Theme: "Living as Christians in Our Violent Communities", featuring speaker Lew Cox, chaplain with Des Moines Police Dept. Tables of resources. Info at 206-870 4139 or notarobot85@hotmail.com

For on excellent and much, much longer compilotion of upcoming ond ongoing progres-sive events in Seottle, check out Jeon Buskin's Peace Colendor: www.scn.org/activism/col-endor/ or e-moil her at bb369@scn.org. Also, check out www.seattleactivism.org.



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